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POPULATION AND DWELLINGS.—TERRITORIES, 4th APRIL, 1921.

(EXCLUSIVE OF FULL-BLOOD ABORIGINES IN THE NORTHERN AND FEDERAL CAPITAL TERRITORIES AND OF THE INDIGENOUS POPULATION OF PAPUA AND NEW GUINEA.)

Territory.	Population.			Dwellings.			Total.
	Males.	Females.	Persons.	Occu- pied.	Unoccu- pied.	Being Built.	
Northern Territory ..	2,821	1,046	3,867	1,074	138	1	1,213
Federal Capital Territory ..	1,567	1,005	2,572	526	29	..	555
Norfolk Island ..	339	378	717	168	22	3	193
Papua ..	1,408	670	2,078	672	43	4	719
Territory of New Guinea ..	2,502	671	3,173	1,056	18	..	1,074

§ 14. The Aboriginal Population.

In Official Year Book No. 17, pp. 951 to 961, a brief account was given of the Australian aboriginal population, its origin, its numbers as estimated from time to time, and the steps taken for its protection. Page 680 of this issue contains a statement showing the numbers of full-blood and half-caste aborigines in Australia, and pages 914 to 916 in Official Year Book No. 22 give particulars for each of the States and Territories of Australia at successive periods, while the special article hereinafter deals with the estimated number and distribution of the native population at the date of first settlement of the white race in the Continent.

§ 15. The Chinese in Australia.

In Official Year Book No. 18, pp. 951 to 956, a brief historical sketch was given regarding "The Chinese in Australia," but limitations of space preclude its repetition in the present volume.

§ 16. The Pacific Islanders in Australia.

In Official Year Book No. 19, pp. 902-3, a brief account was given of the introduction of Kanakas into Australia.

FORMER NUMBERS AND DISTRIBUTION OF THE AUSTRALIAN ABORIGINES.*

1. General.—Since the white man first began to occupy the Australian continent, the aborigines have very rapidly decreased in numbers. It is, therefore, of some interest to endeavour to form as accurate an estimate as possible of the size of the original population. That is a task, however, that is beset with very great difficulties, for the data are scanty and for the most part unreliable. There have been published since 1783 many estimates of the native population of various parts of the continent. Very frequently, however, the area of country to which the estimate is supposed to apply is not clearly defined, and, generally, the basis on which the estimate is made is not explained.

2. Variation in Density.—It is quite evident that the density of the aboriginal population was different in different parts of the continent, and it seems to have varied fairly closely with the food supply. There is a large area of arid country including part of Western Australia, a large part of South Australia, Central Australia, and small portions of New South Wales and Queensland, which cannot maintain more than a very sparse population. Its area can be roughly estimated at 1,000,000 square

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miles, or about one-third of the whole continent. On the other hand, there are certain well-watered areas which are better than the rest of Australia in the food supply that they afford for such a hunting, fishing and collecting people as the Australian aborigines. The Murray River for a large part of its course provided one such specially favourable environment. The coastal districts of New South Wales and Queensland seem to have provided another.

3. Method of Estimation.—(i) *Division into Districts.* Any systematic attempt to estimate the former native population of Australia must therefore proceed by dividing the continent into districts and considering each district separately. Further, the territorial areas to be considered must be those recognized by the natives themselves.

(ii) *Aboriginal Territorial Areas.* (a) *Tribes.* It would seem that all over the continent the aborigines had the same general territorial organization. We can distinguish three kinds of territorial groups, which will be denoted as "tribe," "sub-tribe," and "horde." A tribe consists of a number of persons who speak one language or dialects of one language and who practise the same customs. The name of the language may be used as the name of the tribe. (b) *Sub-tribes.* In some parts of the continent the tribe is subdivided into sub-tribes, which usually, if not always, have differences of dialect within the common language. (c) *Hordes.* Everywhere the tribe is divided into hordes. The horde is the land-owning group. Each horde consists of a small body of persons who own and occupy in common a territory of which the boundaries are known. Women enter the horde by marriage from other hordes, but sons belong to the horde of the father for life.

(iii) *Factors to be Determined.* Any accurate estimate of the numbers of aborigines in any district requires a knowledge of the extent (i.e., area occupied) and the volume (i.e., number of persons) of the horde and the number of hordes in the tribe.

4. Western Australia.—(i) *Area north of Gascoyne River.* We may now proceed to consider in order a number of areas beginning at the Ninety Mile Beach, in Western Australia. The first area consists of the country lying north of the Gascoyne River and including the Ashburton, Fortescue, and De Grey Rivers. The total area is about 120,000 square miles or perhaps somewhat more. The area thus defined contains, or formerly contained, not less than 24 tribes, each with its own language. These are the Nangamada at the south end of the Ninety Mile Beach, the Ngerla and Widagari on the De Grey River, the Nyamal on the Coongan, a tributary of the De Grey, the Kariara and Ngalmala on the coast between the De Grey and the Fortescue, the Mardudhunera, Indjibandi, Pandjima, and Bailgu on the Fortescue River, the Noala, Talaindji, Burduna, Binigura, Tjuroro, Djiwali, Tenma, Ina-wonga, and Ngala-wonga on both sides of the Ashburton, and the Baiong, Maia, Targari, and Warienga north of the Gascoyne. There is another tribe on the Upper Gascoyne, and on the upper waters of the De Grey, Oakover, and Fortescue Rivers there are the Ibarga, Targudi, Ngadari and Wirdinya, the exact location of which is not known but whose territory falls wholly or in part within the area we are considering. Thus the average extent of a tribe in this district is under 5,000 square miles. Some of the smaller tribes have considerably less than this.

The native population throughout this area is now very greatly diminished, so that the present number does not give us any indication of the former number.

All these tribes are divided into hordes. There has been no complete survey of even one tribe, but collected data show that the average area of territory occupied by a horde was probably not more than 150 square miles.

It is not easy to obtain accurate information as to the average number of persons in a horde in former times. Some hordes were larger than others. My own inquiries have led me to conclude that the normal or average horde in former times cannot have numbered less than 30 persons, men, women and children.

This would give a density of one person to 5 square miles, or a total population for the whole area of 24,000. The number of persons in a tribe, i.e., speaking one language, would vary from 500 for the smallest tribes up to something over 1,000.

The region is by no means a favourable one. A large part of it is now occupied with sheep stations, but has only one sheep to every 45 acres. It is reckoned that a highly improved station can run one sheep to 10 acres, but this is possible only in the best areas and is quite exceptional. The region was not, therefore, as compared with the rest of Australia, one of dense population.

Data that would afford a means of testing this estimate are unfortunately almost non-existent. Charles Harper in Curr ("The Australian Race," I., 287) gives an account of the Ngerla tribe (there spelled Ngurla). The tribe is said to occupy an area of 40 miles by 20 and to have consisted in 1864 of several hundred souls. The tribe certainly occupied a much larger area than this, and Harper's remarks therefore apparently apply to only part of it. A. K. Richardson (Curr, I., 296) estimates the population in 1865 of the Ngaluma tribe as consisting of from 250 to 300 persons. A considerable decrease took place in 1866 as the result of small-pox. The Ngaluma is a small tribe with not more than 2,500 square miles of country. One of Curr's informants (Curr, I., 302) writes of what he calls the Kakarakala tribe as extending from North-west Cape to 30 miles south of the Gascoyne River, and from 30 to 50 miles inland, and estimates the number in this area in 1877 at about 2,000. The area defined actually included four tribes: the Talaindji, Baiiong, Maia and Ingarda, and my own estimate would require a population of 2,500 to 3,000 for the four. It may be noted that the estimate was made by Curr's informant about two years after the natives had suffered a very heavy mortality from small-pox.

(ii) *South-Western Area.* We may next consider the south-western portion of Western Australia now occupied as agricultural country. There is here about 50,000 square miles of comparatively well-watered country which provided a fairly favourable environment for the aborigines. We have no information about the territorial divisions of the aborigines (tribes and hordes) that is of any value.

In the early days of settlement, the population of the region of the Swan River settlement was estimated by Sir James Stirling at one native to 2 square miles. Seven hundred and fifty were known to have visited Perth from the district surrounding it, about 40 miles each way. This is probably an over-estimate, but is about the only figure we have.

I believe, however, that we shall be safe in allowing one person to 4 square miles for this region, giving a figure of 12,500.

(iii) *Murchison District and Eastern Goldfields Area.* In addition to the two areas considered, there is an area of about 100,000 square miles, including the Murchison District and the Eastern goldfields, that had a population that I propose to put down provisionally, at 5,000, or one person to 20 square miles.

(iv) *Total for Western District.* Thus for the western part of Western Australia, an area of 270,000 square miles, I propose to assume that there was a native population of 41,500. Excluding about 100,000 square miles of the Kimberley District in the north, which will be treated separately, we are left with an area of 605,920 square mile of arid country almost entirely unoccupied by white settlement and partly unexplored. The whole of this vast region has or had an aboriginal population, but undoubtedly a very sparse one. There are no data whatever on which to base any estimate of their numbers.

(v) *The Kimberley District.* Dr. A. P. Elkin has kindly given me an estimate of the former population of the Kimberley District, based on his recent ethnological investigations in that area. He puts the original population at about 9,700, divided into 26 or more tribes, varying from small tribes of 100 to large ones of 1,000.

(vi) *Total for State.* I estimate, therefore, that Western Australia contained originally not less than 52,000 aborigines, and more probably 55,000, over an area of 975,920 square miles, much of which is desert.

5. South Australia.—(i) *General.* Passing to South Australia, a great deal of that State is arid and was very sparsely peopled, and the south-eastern part alone provided a favourable environment. Of the total area of 380,070 square miles, only a little over 60,000 square miles have a rainfall of over 10 inches.

(ii) *Estimates by Moorhouse and Eyre.* Moorhouse in 1843 estimated that there were 1,600 aborigines in regular and irregular contact with the Europeans distributed in the Adelaide district, Encounter Bay, Moorundie, Port Lincoln and Hutt River. If the districts within 120 miles south, 160 miles north and 200 miles east of Adelaide were included, he estimated that the total would be about 3,000. Eyre thought this an under-estimate, and that if the Port Lincoln Peninsula were included the number

would be 6,000. Both Moorhouse and Eyre had better opportunities than any one else to form an estimate of the aboriginal population. Nevertheless, I think it can be shown that even Eyre's estimate is too small if we include that part of South Australia through which the Murray River flows.

(iii) *Murray River Area.* The Murray River, from a point westward of the Darling Junction to the mouth, was occupied by two groups of tribes. One group had the word *meru* for "man" or "blackfellow," and included the Ngintaitj, Yuyu, Yirau, Nyauaitj, Ngaiyau, Nganguruku and Ngaraltu. The other group used the term *ngarindjeri* for "man" or "blackfellow," and hence are frequently referred to by the name Narrinyeri. This group included four or five tribes—the Portaulun, at the entrance of the Murray to Lake Alexandrina; the Yaralde, on the south of Lake Alexandrina and on Lake Albert; the Tanganalun, on the Coorong; and either one or two tribes on the north side of Lake Alexandrina and at Encounter Bay.

A small portion of the area occupied by the Meru tribes belongs to Victoria and New South Wales, but the greater part of it belongs to South Australia. These tribes had suffered a very heavy mortality from small-pox before the white man first came in contact with them.

It would take a good deal of space to discuss critically the evidence relating to these tribes. There is good evidence that the population was, for Australia, a dense one. In 1877 there were still living about 400 of the Yaralde tribe, the names being contained in a list written down by Taplin at that time. The tribe cannot have numbered originally less than 600 and was probably more than 800 before 1820. The tribe was divided into 22 or more large hordes which probably contained not less than 40 persons on the average. Taplin states that "all the Narrinyeri on the southern sides of Lakes Alexandrina and Albert," i.e., the two tribes of Yaralde and Tanganalun, "could muster easily 800 warriors." To provide 800 fighting men a population of 2,400 must be supposed for these two tribes together. This is perhaps an over-estimate. Taplin relates that in 1849 he saw a battle where 500 of the Narrinyeri met some 800 of the Murray natives.

(iv) *Total for South Australia.* Allowing something for the tribes east of the Murray to the Victorian border, we are, I think, keeping quite on the safe side in estimating an original population of 6,000 for the south-eastern portion of South Australia east of the Mount Lofty Ranges. Estimates for the rest of the State are difficult to arrive at with any certainty, but I believe we can quite safely assume one person to 80 square miles. A total population of 10,000 for South Australia as a whole is, therefore, probably well under the true figure.

6. *Victoria.*—(i) *Early Estimates.* For Victoria a number of estimates of population were made in the early days of occupation. E. S. Parker, who was for many years a Protector of Aborigines, and had probably better opportunities than any other person for forming a reliable judgment, estimated that at the foundation of the colony the aboriginal population was 7,500. It is evident also that he tried to make a real estimate and not a mere guess. He said in a lecture given in 1854: "In the year 1843, I endeavoured to take a nominal census of the aboriginal population in the district extending from the Goulburn on the east to the Upper Wimmera on the west, and from the Great Dividing Range between the coast river and the interior waters on the south and the Mallee country on the north. I found and registered by name, in their respective families and tribes, about 1,100 individuals."

A later Protector of Aborigines, William Thomas, after a careful estimate, concluded that the aboriginal population of Victoria before the white occupation could not have been less than 6,000.

These two estimates, by Parker and Thomas, are the most reliable we have for the whole colony.

About 1845, Robinson, Chief Protector of Aborigines at Port Phillip, estimated the population of that district to be at least 5,000.

Brough Smyth in 1878 gives a much smaller number, estimating that the total aboriginal population of Victoria did not number more than 3,000. But the estimate is based on arguments that are open to grave suspicion, and should, I think, be rejected.

We are thus left with three estimates—not less than 5,000 (Robinson), not less than 6,000 (Thomas) and 7,500 (Parker). To them we may add McCombie's statement that Victoria when first colonized contained 7,000 aborigines.

(ii) *Early Estimates for Districts.* We have also a few early estimates of the population of certain parts of the colony. Thomas states that in 1835-6 the aboriginal population of the counties of Bourke, Evelyn and Mornington was 350. He adds that one-half at least of one of the tribes inhabiting these counties had perished in 1834 in a war with Gippsland and Omeo blacks, and that previous to the war the total number was certainly not less than 500. As the three counties mentioned had an area of about 3,000,000 acres, this would give one person to 6,000 acres.

Westgarth in 1848 writes: "The entire area of Australia Felix does not probably contain at present more than five thousand aborigines, or about one aboriginal inhabitant to each nineteen square miles. Of this scanty population about one thousand are in Gipps' Land, two thousand in the Western Port, Murray and Wimmera districts, and two thousand throughout the remainder of the territory."

By 1848 the aboriginal population had been considerably reduced as the result of small-pox, and of the white settlement.

About 1845 an attempt was made by the Aborigines Committee of the Legislative Council of New South Wales to discover the number of the aborigines. Victoria then consisted of five districts. Gipps' Land was estimated by Tyers to contain 1,000 aborigines, the Murray district was estimated by Smyth to contain 200. Fyans estimated the population of the Portland Bay district 3,000, and Wilson gave 300 for Normanby county, which was part of that district. No numbers were obtained for the Wimmera district. For the Western Port district Powlett gave an estimate of 1,000, but within this district Addis gave 200 for Grant county. Thomas gave 165 for Yarra and Western Port, and Parker gave 302 for the Upper Goulburn and Campaspe Rivers, 200 for the Lower Goulburn, 350 and 670 for the country north and west of the River Loddon. These separate estimates would give considerably more than 1,000 for the whole Western Port district.

We may consider these five subdivisions of Victoria separately. If we accept Howitt's account, Gippsland formerly contained six tribes—Brataualung, Brayakaulung, Brabralung, Tatunglung, Krautunglung and Bidweli. There were local subdivisions of the tribes, and of these Howitt enumerates twenty for the first five tribes mentioned above. If the total population of the five tribes was 1,000, this would give an average of only 200 per tribe and an average of 50 persons for each local subdivision of the tribe.

The Rev. John Bulmer in 1878 thought that the aborigines in Gippsland could never have numbered more than 1,000 or at most 1,500. Curr (III., 543) estimated the original population at 1,500. This is probably nearer to the truth than 1,000.

If we accept the low estimate of 1,000 for Gippsland this would give a density of only one person to 15 square miles. As the region is of heavy forest, it may well have been only sparsely populated except on the coast. But the figure of 1,000 seems likely to be an under-estimate. We may accept it as the irreducible minimum.

The Murray district was bounded on the north by the Murray, on the south-east by the Australian Alps and on the west by the Goulburn River. The estimate of 200 for the district by Smyth is certainly wrong. A. C. Wills, former Police Magistrate and Warden at Omeo, stated that in May, 1835, there were about 500 or 600 men, women and children resident during a few months of each year at the headquarters of the "Gundanora" tribe on the elevated plain of Omeo. In 1842 they frequently assembled in larger numbers. In 1862 H. B. Lane stated that "the 40 blacks to whom rations, &c., are distributed at Tangamballanga are the sole remnant of three or four once powerful tribes each of which, even within the memory of old settlers, numbered from 200 to 300 souls. These tribes inhabited the tract of country now very nearly described on the electoral map as comprising the Murray district of the Eastern Province, and comprising an area of about 2,000 square miles." He goes on to state that the country was one well suited for the blacks.

For the tribes of some parts of the Murray district we have little information, but for those at the junction of the Goulburn and Murray Rivers we have the probably reliable observations of Edward Curr, who was a pioneer settler there in 1841. His account would show 1,200 aborigines in an area of 3,000 to 3,500 square miles, or one

person to 2.5 or 3 square miles. Of these 1,200, 550 occupied a small area of about 1,200 square miles between the Goulburn and the Murray, and belong to the Murray district, the remainder belonging to New South Wales or to the Western Port district of Victoria.

Scanty as these data are, they point very distinctly to the whole aboriginal population of the Murray district, i.e., the region between the Goulburn and Murray Rivers, as having been probably over 2,000. To be on the safe side and keep always to a minimum we may put 1,500.

Turning now to what used to be called the Western Port district, this was occupied by a few large tribes, called by Parker "petty nations." These were the Bunwuring, Woewurung, Tagunwuring, Djadjawurung and Wudjawurung. Each of these tribes was subdivided into local divisions, which we may regard as sub-tribes. Howitt enumerates five such for the Woewurung tribe. Parker gives seven for the Djadjawurung. The sub-tribe was further subdivided into groups which Howitt calls "clans," there being three or four such in the Wurrunjeri sub-tribe of the Woewurung. According to Howitt the clans were again subdivided into lesser groups of people, and each had its own definite tract of country and food grounds.

A. C. Le Souef, a good observer with exceptional opportunity, describes what are apparently four sub-tribes of the Tagunwuring tribe. He gives their names as Bootheraboolok, Natrakboolok, Nerboolok and Ngooraialum, and estimates the original numbers of the first two at 100 each and of the last two at 200 each. On Curr's map (III., 566) these groups occupy an area of about 4,500 square miles. Le Souef's estimate therefore gives one person to 7.5 square miles.

Parker describes the Djadjawurung as subdivided into seven parts, which he calls "tribes," and as having "at a remote period numbered about one thousand beings." With a total of 1,000 the average number of a sub-tribe would have been less than 150.

Seeing that each sub-tribe spoke a separate dialect and was divided into hordes, it will seem that we cannot possibly estimate the sub-tribe at less than 100 persons, and for the five tribes mentioned we cannot allow less than 3,000 persons. This figure receives some confirmation from the fact that in 1843 Parker was able to enumerate by name 1,100 individuals between the Goulburn and the Upper Wimmera.

For the Portland Bay district we have Fyans' estimate for 1845 at 3,000, and Wilson's estimate of the same date of 300 for Normanby county. Dawson says that 21 "tribes" used to hold their great meetings at a marsh some miles west of Caramut. His estimate is that each "tribe" mustered 30 fighting men or 120 persons on the average, thus giving a total of 2,500 for the tribes referred to. The coast tribes are not included, as they did not attend these meetings. Dawson adds: "In the estimation of some of the earliest settlers, this calculation of the average strength of each tribe is too low." What Dawson calls "tribes" appear to be sub-tribes. The names of the tribes proper are not known. Tjapwuring seems to be one of them. Dawson writes that at the annual meetings "where sometimes twenty tribes assembled there were usually four languages spoken, so distinct from one another that the young people speaking one of them could not understand a word of the other three." It would seem therefore that there were at least four distinct tribes divided into twenty sub-tribes.

Brough Smyth, on the information of H. B. Lane and Charles Gray, gives an account of the "tribes" of part of the Portland district. These are really sub-tribes, and it would appear that 25 of them occupied an area of about 6,750 square miles, or on the average 270 square miles each. If we take Dawson's estimate of 120 to the sub-tribe, we have a density of one person to 2½ square miles. This would seem to be perhaps too high.

Allowing, however, that Dawson's statements refer to only part of the Portland Bay district, and allowing also for Wilson's estimate of 300 in Normanby county in 1845, we must conclude that the figure of 3,000 given for this district in 1845 is not too high, and that the original population was probably considerably more than that figure.

The Wimmera district falls into three parts. The southern part on the Upper Wimmera was probably well populated. The central portion around Lake Hindmarsh and to Lake Tyrrell had a sparser population. The region bordering the Murray River was inhabited by a number of small tribes, there being seven of them between the Loddon and the Darling junction. These river tribes were enormously reduced by

small-pox in the thirties, but even then were numerous, and the evidence is that this was one of the most densely populated regions of the southern part of Australia. Probably this portion of the Murray from Echuca to the Darling junction, and including some part of the Murrumbidgee, originally supported a population of not less than 5,000 or 6,000 aborigines divided into ten or twelve tribes. We may reasonably allot 2,000 of them to Victoria.

An estimate of 1,000 for the southern and central part of the Wimmera district would not be an over-estimate.

(iii) *Total for Victoria.* We then reach the following estimate for Victoria as a whole:—

District.	Number of Aboriginals.
Gippsland	1,000
Murray District	1,500
Western Port District	3,000
Portland Bay District	3,000
Wimmera District	3,000
	<hr/>
	11,500

This estimate would still give a density of only one person to 7.65 square miles.

This figure of 11,500 is considerably in excess of Parker's figure of 7,500, and there is good reason for thinking that Parker's was by far the most carefully made of the early estimates. It would seem (1) that Parker was not making allowance for the tribes on the Murray River, who count for 2,000 in my estimate. (2) Parker made no allowance for the very heavy mortality from small-pox for which we have good evidence in Victoria (except Gippsland) in the decade before the white settlement. (3) It will be noticed that very regularly estimates for a large area give a smaller proportionate population than those for smaller areas. We should allow, I think, a very great weight for estimates made for limited areas by reliable informants such as Curr and Le Souef, who had far better opportunities of getting exact information than Parker had. I have therefore relied on such statements in making my general estimate. (4) The figure does not by any means seem excessive when we consider the great diversity of language and dialect in Victoria. If we allow only 500 persons for a tribe or language and only 100 to 120 for a dialect, the total estimate of 11,500 for the colony is not extreme, and would, indeed, seem to be too small. Taking all these things into consideration, my own impression is that 11,500 for the original population of Victoria before the small-pox is decidedly an under-rather than an over-estimate.

7. *Queensland.*—(i) *General.* As it is difficult to arrive at any estimate of the numbers in New South Wales, I propose to consider Queensland first. In dealing with this area it must be remembered that before the white settlement there had been already a mortality from small-pox which was probably very heavy and that there was, in many districts, in the first two or three years of settlement, an enormous mortality, chiefly, though not entirely, amongst men, as the result of massacres by settlers and police. There is abundant evidence that many thousands of aborigines were shot in order that the white man might enjoy undisturbed their tribal lands.

(ii) *Estimates for Various Areas.* The first area I propose to consider includes a small part of New South Wales. It extends from the Clarence River in the south to Broad Sound in the north, and is bounded by the watershed between the eastward and westward flowing rivers. This area included a number of tribes. From the Clarence River to the Burnett River the chief tribes were the Yukumbil, Yagara, Djandai, Waka, Kabi and Koreng. From Port Curtis to Broad Sound there seem to have been seven smaller tribes—Tarambara, Yetimarala, Kuinmurbara, Ningebal, Warabal, Tarumbal and Urambal. Each of these tribes was subdivided into sub-tribes, and for the greater part of the area the sub-tribes have names which are formed by means of the suffix *-hara*. A probably incomplete list from W. H. Flowers enumerates seven such sub-tribes for the Kuinmurbara, five for the Ningebal, four for the Tarumbal, and four for the Warabal. For the Kabi tribe we have two lists, one giving sixteen and the other 23, but even by combining the two it is not possible to make a complete list.

Each tribe had its own language, and each sub-tribe spoke its own dialect of the tribal language. The sub-tribe was further divided into a number of hordes, each of which was a land-owning group. My own inquiries for this region have led me to conclude that each horde occupied, on the average, about 100 square miles or less, and may be taken as having on the average 30 members, men, women and children, or more. This will give us a density of population of three persons to 10 square miles. The part of the region that lies in Queensland may be estimated roughly at 50,000 square miles, and the population would therefore be 15,000. This would mean that in the northern part of the region the small tribes would contain about 450 individuals in an area of about 1,500 square miles, divided into sub-tribes of perhaps 100 persons, each subdivided into a few small hordes. The larger tribes, such as the Kabi, would number 2,500 persons or more divided into sub-tribes of about 100, and these subdivided into small hordes.

That this estimate is very moderate is indicated by early statements. Thus, Howitt's informant (Flowers) states, with reference to the Kabi tribe, that "about the year 1859 these blacks might have been counted by thousands." In an account forwarded to Curr by the Chief Commissioner of Police, Brisbane, in 1879, with reference to Great Sandy or Fraser's Island, which is a small part of the Kabi territory, it is stated that in 1849 the population of that island, which was split into nineteen "tribes," amounted to about 2,000 souls, of whom 300 or 400 still survived in 1879. J. D. Lang, in 1861, wrote: "Frazer's Island is rather of indifferent character, in point of soil and general capabilities, in the estimation of Europeans; but it is an excellent fishing station, and abounds in the requisites of aboriginal life. It is consequently very populous—the number of aborigines in the island being estimated at not fewer than 2,000." This figure of 2,000 for the island seems excessive. It may well be that such a number might be found in the island at certain seasons when there were visitors from the mainland. We know that very large numbers of natives used to collect together in the Bunya Mountains from a wide radius to feast on the bunya nuts when they were in season. Still, Lang's statement indicates that the estimate I have made for the whole region is probably well below the true number.

The basin of the Burdekin River and its tributaries, and the coastal districts from Mackay to Cairns give an area of something over 65,000 square miles of well-watered country. According to G. F. Bridgeman, there were four "tribes" within a radius of 50 miles or so of Port Mackay. The country was occupied about 1860, and during the eight or ten years which followed, about one-half of the aboriginal population was either shot down by the police or perished from disease. Numbers were carried off in 1876 by measles. In 1880 one of the tribes numbered about 100. This would seem to give us a figure for the original population of not less than one to 6 square miles. James Cassady states that the Halifax Bay tribe occupied a tract of country fronting the shores of the bay for about 50 miles and extending 15 miles inland. It was divided into seven sub-tribes. The population in 1865 is estimated to have amounted to about 500 persons. The numbers in 1880 were approximately 200, the decrease being said to be due mostly to massacres by settlers and native police. Even if we allow an area of 1,000 square miles for the tribe, this gives us a density of one person to 2 square miles, each sub-tribe numbering about 70 in an area of under 150 square miles. Lumholtz, who visited the Herbert River in 1882, when the number of natives had already somewhat decreased, and who had good opportunity for making a reliable estimate, describes the natives as divided into what he calls "family tribes," i.e., apparently hordes, each containing about 20 to 25 individuals, often less. His estimate of the extent of a tribe is about 40 miles by 30, and its volume at 200 to 250 persons. This gives a density of only two persons to 10 square miles.

A comparison of the accounts given of the country around the Cape River indicates that the tribes here were divided into a few large sub-tribes, each with more than 400 persons and occupying about 1,600 square miles. This gives a density of not less than four persons to 10 square miles.

Allowing for differences of population in different parts of the area, greater on the sea-coast but less in such a forest or scrub region as the Herbert River, I think we are safe in allowing one person to 4 square miles for the whole area, or 16,250 in all.

The area occupied by the Dawson, Comet and Mackenzie Rivers and other tributaries of the Fitzroy may be estimated at something over 45,000 square miles. A tribe in this region at the head of the Comet River is estimated to have numbered 500 in 1860, was 300 in 1869, and 200 in April, 1879. A reasonable estimate for this region is 10,000.

If we compare the statements of Roth with those of Curr's informants it would seem that the Boulia district contained fifteen or more small tribes numbering from 100 to 300 persons. Roth estimates the area at 10,000 square miles, but that is, I think, a gross under-estimate. The area in question is probably 30,000 square miles, and we can perhaps allow for it a density of one person to 10 square miles.

(iii) *Total for Queensland.* It would take much space to discuss critically each part of Queensland. The conclusion I have reached after examining the available evidence, admittedly not, by any means, satisfactory, is that Queensland could not have contained less than 100,000 aborigines, and probably had more than this.*

8. *New South Wales.*—For New South Wales I will not examine in detail the scanty data available. In 1788, the first year of settlement of Port Jackson, Governor Phillip took the numbers of the aborigines of Port Jackson by causing inspectors to visit every cove or inlet at the same time. One hundred and thirty were counted, who had with them 67 boats or canoes, and many were known to be in the woods making these vessels. The Governor at that time estimated the population between Botany Bay and Broken Bay at 1,500. This population was practically extinct by 1845. A native of the tribe occupying the southern coast of Port Jackson stated that in his recollection, in the time of Governor Macquarie (1810–1821), there were about 400 individuals in the tribe. By 1845 he and three women were all that survived.

The coastal region of New South Wales probably was fairly densely populated, perhaps more in the north than in the south. My estimate is that that part of the State contained about 25,000 aborigines, speaking more than twenty different languages, and that the rest of the State had about 20,000. To be on the safe side we may put the total for the whole State at 40,000.

9. *The Northern Territory.*—Ethnological researches in the Northern Territory now in progress will ultimately, it is hoped, help us to obtain a more accurate knowledge of the original population. Existing data suggest that the whole country probably contained 35,000 persons divided into more than 60 tribes, each with its own language.

10. *Tasmania.*—For Tasmania the available evidence is unsatisfactory. Early estimates of the population are from 6,000 to 8,000 (G. A. Robinson), 5,000 (Captain Kelly), not much, if at all, over 2,000 (Dr. Milligan), and between 700 and 1,000 (Backhouse). There seem to have been four tribes with four distinct languages, divided into sub-tribes with different dialects, and then again divided into hordes which rarely contained more than 30 or 40 individuals. The best estimate that can be made is that the original population was probably not less than 2,000 nor more than 3,000.

11. *Total for Australia.*—It has been impossible to discuss all the data on which these estimates have been based. As remarked in reference to Victoria, it is noticeable that estimates for small areas always give a greater density of population than those for larger areas in the same part of Australia. I believe that in general the estimates for small areas are more reliable than those for larger areas. It has been necessary to consider the reliability of each statement by judging as well as possible what opportunities the person had for making careful observations. Statements by persons who lived for some years in close contact with the natives before depopulation had begun or had proceeded very far have been given the most weight. Allowance has been made for differences in the food supply in different regions. Finally the estimates have been throughout considered in relation to the languages and dialects (tribes and sub-tribes) and land-owning groups (hordes).

* I may quote two out of many scattered statements which go to show that Queensland had a large aboriginal population. Thomas Hall, of Warwick, records how 200 to 300 men would take part in a wallaby drive in the Darling Downs region. A. L. P. Cameron wrote in 1884: "In 1868 I saw gatherings of from 800 to 1,000 in Western Queensland, about 150 miles north of the New South Wales boundary line, and now I am told, on trustworthy authority, that the whole district could not produce a third of that number."

The following estimate, then, I regard as giving the *minimum* that we can reasonably estimate for each portion of Australia.

FORMER ABORIGINAL POPULATION OF AUSTRALIA.

District.	Estimated Number of Aborigines.	Area (square miles).	Density (number of square miles per aboriginal).
Western Australia	52,000	975,920	18·8
South Australia	10,000	380,070	38·0
Victoria	11,500	87,884	7·6
Queensland	100,000	670,500	6·7
New South Wales	40,000	*310,372	7·8
Northern Territory	35,000	523,620	15·0
Tasmania	2,500	26,215	10·5
Total	251,000	2,974,581	11·9

* Inclusive of Federal Capital Territory.

This estimate gives the density of population for the whole continent as being one person to 12 square miles. There is good evidence that in some parts the density was much greater than this, and in considerable areas was at least as high as three persons to 10 square miles, while even in fairly arid regions there was a density of one person to 10 square miles. Omitting, therefore, about one-third of the continent as being desert and having a very sparse population, we ought to be able to reckon that the remaining 2,000,000 square miles would have had a density of population of one person to every 6·5 or 7·5 square miles. At the former figure we should have a population of a little more than 300,000, and with the latter over 260,000.

It is not possible to give an exact count of the number of native languages, still less of the dialects into which they were subdivided. It seems fairly certain, however, that there were more than 500 distinct languages, so that our estimate would allow about 500 persons to a tribe or language on the average. What knowledge we have indicates that we cannot allow a smaller figure than this.

In conclusion, therefore, I would say that the available evidence points to the original population of Australia having been certainly over 250,000, and quite possibly, or even probably, over 300,000.